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TX
 contributors include: Joseph Coors, Bert Hurlbut, Howell Instruments, Harry Lucas Jr. (Dallas oilman) Jack Cox (one-time Republican candidate for Governor, co-author with Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua Betrayed), Ellen Garwood, and Charlie Wilson (Texas state representative).

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 Singlaub says that money collected in the United States is used to buy only nonlethal supplies, thereby not violating American neutrality and arms export laws. USCWF funds have bought boats and clothing but not weapons for EDN and MISURA, he claims. The retired general says he uses WACL's international contacts to obtain lethal military aid from foreign governments, individuals, and corporations. The New York Times said that USCWF recently provided a short take off and landing aircraft to the contras, supposedly to be used for transporting humanitarian aid. According to Singlaub, Fred Ikle, Under Secretary for Defense Policy, and Nestor Sanchez, Deputy Secretary of Defense for Inter-American Affairs, have helped USCWF by having the organization's supplies placed on U.S. Navy and Air Force craft headed for Central America.

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 Current USCWF projects include: 1) formation of a coalition of anticommunist groups called the Coalition for World Freedom; 2) "Project Boots" to provide work boots to freedom fighters in Nicaragua and Afghanistan; 3) "Captive Nations Park" to be built in San Antonio as a monument to countries subjugated by communism; 4) pressure to ensure that Peace Corps volunteers are given "anticommunist training" so that "every Peace Corps volunteer will understand thoroughly the strategy, tactics, and methodology of communism;" and 5) support of the contras through the provision of non-lethal equipment like small boats and helicopters and the organization's "Freedom Fighter Friendship Kits."

World Anti-Communist League (WACL)

Principals: John Singlaub (chair), Daniel Graham, Robert Crose (Belgium), Ku Cheng Kang (Taiwan), Manuel Frutos (Paraguay), Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukrainian).

WACL was founded in 1967 at a conference in Taipei as an outgrowth of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League. It has counted on the close backing of the Taiwan government and has served as an adjunct to the government's foreign service. Its original purpose was to serve as an "anticommunist united front" to support "materially and spiritually" the worldwide struggle against Soviet and Chinese imperialism." Its founders included the supporters of Reverend Sun Myung Moon, whose aide Osami Kuboki controls WACL's chapter in Japan. Besides Taiwan, WACL has received steady support from the governments of South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Paraguay. It currently has chapters in over 50 countries.

Anticommunism and antisemitism have been the key ideologies of WACL. Executive board member Yaroslav Stetso was a prominent WWII Nazi collaborator who briefly headed a Nazi puppet government in the Ukraine, and Dr. Manuel Frutos, another WACL director, organized the 1979 WACL conference in Paraguay to which he invited several former Nazi SS officers and neofascists. Observers called it the "most Nazified" of all WACL annual meetings.

The 1978 chair of WACL, Dr. Roger Pearson, began his career as a racial propagandist during his stay in India as a tea planter. In 1956, he started publishing the racist magazine Northern World. Pearson in 1977 joined the founding editorial board of Policy Review, a quarterly journal published by the Heritage Foundation. He has authored books entitled Eugenics and Race and Blood Groups and Race, and in recent years has received at least \$36,000 from the Pioneer Fund (a foundation dedicated to scientific racism and run by political

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~~New Right Populism~~

~~Paul Weyrich~~, commonly regarded as the New Right's main tactician, says that little difference exists between the old-line and the New Right conservatives—it's mainly a question of tactics and self-image. Whereas the traditional conservatives are a "phenomenon of the upper classes" and characterized by a "highly intellectual strain," the New Right has eschewed the scholarly approach and framed its politics in the language of the middle class and blue-collar workers. Whereas the old right has had a pessimistic view of its political future, Weyrich says the New Right "believes it can win." Fired up by religion and anticommunist paranoia, New Rightists are righteous and determined. "A common assumption of New Right activists is that government should support certain moral truths."¹

In the 1970s, the New Right was busy creating a strategy for winning. The New Right stressed the importance of mass organizing, sloganizing, press conferences, media manipulation, and public relations. Weyrich explains the new approach: "The Old Right did not understand anything at all about mass psychology, since they came from a different, pre-television era. [The Old Right] never did much to try to persuade them to be dramatic, to think big. The New Right recognizes that technology, like the media, is morally neutral and exists to be taken advantage of by anybody."²

In many ways, then, the difference between the New Right and traditional conservatives is more a matter of style and appearances than substance. Both factions oppose social services, promote unfettered capitalism, and back increased military spending.

Members of the Club

The institutional base of the New Right is a web of think tanks, lobbying organizations, and public pressure groups. This network is characterized by its interlocking directorships and its assumed role as the defender of democracy, family, and Christian values. Above all, however, anticommunism is the glue that holds the network together.

Right-wing think tanks have generated ideological justifications, scholarly analyses, and policy alternatives which have been adopted both by the administration and by the leadership of the New Right. In addition, they have served as recruitment pools for the current administration. Several older, traditionally conservative think tanks like the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace (established in 1919, Ronald Reagan is an honorary fellow) serve the flourishing right-wing movement. The ~~American Enterprise Institute~~, founded in 1943, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, founded in 1962, also have a traditional conservative base and have provided the New Right with key leaders and policy positions.

~~The Heritage Foundation~~, formed in 1974, is the New Right's leading think tank. defense related issues, the National Strategy Information Center is a major source of New Right policies.

Joining New Right think tanks are lobbying, political action, and public pressure groups that publicize their agenda to the electorate and lobby for their programs in Washington. Some of these are older groups that have been revived or reenergized by the New Right movement and the Reagan administration while others are direct offsprings of the New Right. Organizations like the ~~American Security Council~~ and the Coalition for Peace through Strength are mainly military lobbies. Then there are groups like the ~~Conservative Caucus~~ that concentrate on lobbying in Washington for the entire conservative New Right agenda.

Other organizations like the ~~Liberty Federation~~ and the ~~Eagle Forum~~ organize public pressure for their political program. These groups perform the vital function of popularizing the New Right's ideology. In collaboration with the CIA, they sponsor press conferences and speaking tours of contra leaders and such extreme right-wing figures as Roberto D'Aubuisson.

The evangelists, who bring their message of God, country, and anticommunism to the masses, have proved to be a crucial part of the New Right formula for success. Media

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cialist on Reagan's National Security Council. Before joining the Reagan administration, Fontaine was the director of Latin American studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. As director of the Council for Inter-American Security, Fontaine co-authored the organization's influential Santa Fe Document. Recently he has worked as a reporter for the Washington Times, and he participated in the annual World Anti-Communist League meeting in 1985.

Patrick Frawley: Once called "the wealthiest man on the far right," Frawley was born in Nicaragua, where his father was a successful investor. An active supporter of the American Security Council, Frawley, who was a main backer of Ronald Reagan's campaign for governor, launched the Paper-Mate company which later bought out the Eversharp, Schick, and Technicolor companies. He supports the following groups: American Security Council, Young-Americans for Freedom, Moral Re-Armament, Council of the Americas, Hoover Institution, Freedoms Foundation, and Up with People. Frawley-controlled companies own several right-wing Catholic publications, including the National Catholic Register, that support counterrevolution in Central America. Fred Schlafly, a director of the World Anti-Communist League and husband of Phyllis Schlafly, has worked for the Frawley business consortium.

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Howard Phillips: The head of the powerful Conservative Caucus, Phillips is considered a brilliant grassroots organizer. He rose to prominence when President Nixon appointed him to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity. Phillips, who favors "a return to Biblical law," was a member of the New Right coalition headed by James Whelan of the Washington Times that monitored the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. He co-founded the Moral Majority, and together with Paul Weyrich helped get "electronic ministers" like Falwell and Robertson into politics. Phillips is a leading supporter of the World Anti-Communist League and has sponsored John Birch Society tours to South Africa to meet government and military leaders.

Richard Mellon Scaife: Great-grandson of the founder of the Mellon empire (Gulf Oil), Scaife funds most major conservative institutions, particularly those involved in the formation of public opinion. His philanthropic work is handled by the Sarah Scaife, Allegheny and Carthage Foundations. Since it began operating 12 years ago, Scaife has given over \$4 million to the Heritage Foundation. He also supports the Center for Strategic and International Studies, National Strategy Information Center, Committee on the Present Danger, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Committee for a Free World, Hoover Institution, Accuracy in Media, American Legislative Exchange Council, and Free Congress Foundation. Each year Scaife gives about \$10 million to right-wing groups.

William R. Simon: Simon, who was treasury secretary during the Nixon administration, has been described as a "free enterprise warrior." In his book A Time for Truth, Simon calls on the business community to create a Republican/conservative "counter-intellectuals" and advocates that "multi millions" be given to foundations that are "imbued with the philosophy of freedom." He proposed that "non-egalitarian scholars" be given grants to produce the information and analysis needed to educate America. Simon is a former or current associate of the American Enterprise Institute, Accuracy in Media, and the Heritage Foundation. He is also a leading figure in Americares, Knights of Malta, and the Nicaraguan Freedom Fund.

Richard Viguerie: Viguerie is a direct mail specialist who operates out of Falls Church, Virginia. His direct mail and information empire offers public relations services to New Right causes. He publishes the Conservative Digest and participated in the coalition that monitored the Kissinger Commission.

Paul Weyrich: A former press secretary and broadcast journalist, Weyrich has used those skills to organize the New Right. He and Joseph Coors founded the Free Congress Foundation and the Heritage Foundation. He conceived the name Moral Majority and co-founded the organization with Jerry Falwell and Howard Phillips. "We are radicals

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working to overturn the present power structures in this country," says Weyrich, who stresses the importance of organizing the middle and working classes around religious and social issues rather than economic and fiscal ones. Weyrich also serves as treasurer of the Council on National Policy.

New Right Ideology and Strategy

Traditional conservatism before World War II was an isolationist brand of politics. After the war, however, the right wing embraced the hysteria of Cold War anticomunism, giving their qualified support to the containment and counterinsurgency politics of the Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy administrations. The conservatives of the 1960s felt that both political parties were becoming too accommodating with the red menace. They called for a more active defense of the "free world."

The anticomunism of the New Right is a uncompromising ideology that says there can be no accommodation between East and West. They call for reduced development aid and for the increased use of such instruments of low intensity conflict as special operations, psychological operations, and military civic action.

In their hard-line view of the Soviet Union, New Right leaders see a "hungry bear" with an appetite gone wild, gorging itself first on Eastern Europe, but inevitably turning its ravenous eye toward the rest of the globe, with Central America being the current target. For the New Right, the world is divided in two: ours and theirs. "Theirs" is ever-expanding; "ours" is ever-threatened. Thus, in any conflict—even those with acknowledged indigenous roots—the Soviets are seen to be the hidden enemy. This bi-polar view of the world conveniently overlooks such phenomena as the Sino-Soviet split, the rise of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the proliferation of internally based third world struggles.

What is distinctive about the New Right's anticomunism is not its polarized view of world politics but its fight-back strategy. Instead of simply taking measures to con-

tain the growth of leftist states, New Right ideologues support military measures to roll back the advances of world communism. Born in the New Right think tanks, this policy has become known as the Reagan Doctrine.

In Central America, the Reagan Doctrine promotes fighting the Soviets on what is considered their own terms, with their own weapons: armed revolutionaries, psychological operations, destabilization, and strategic alliances. Robert Moffit of the Council for Inter-American Security (CIS) says this strategy is based in the "new international politics of reciprocity"—a tit-for-tat policy that calls for the United States to react point by point to perceived acts of Soviet aggression.⁴ In this view, if the Soviets support leftist revolutionary movements in the third world, the United States should similarly arm and support rightist movements.

This roll back strategy was a prominent part of the Heritage Foundation's set of policy prescriptions for Reagan's second term. The foundation's Mandate II recommended the underwriting of paramilitary forces—renamed "freedom fighters"—in nine countries that "threaten United States' interests." The authors argued that such a policy would show that the U.S. "no longer will countenance the subversion or overthrow of friendly governments within the developing world."⁵

In the Central American context, the Reagan Doctrine is supported by a document that has historical and ideological significance for the region. The Monroe Doctrine was promulgated in 1823 by President James Monroe to announce a "hands off" policy for the Western Hemisphere. Monroe declared to the European powers, which had obvious colonial intentions, the newly independent nations of the Americas were to be left alone. Significantly, Monroe's doctrine neglected to include the United States in the restriction. As a consequence, the doctrine has often been invoked to justify U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American nations.

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Recently, the Monroe Doctrine has been dredged up again to defend U.S. activities

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released from active duty in 1970 and remained active in the Army Reserve until 1985 when he retired as a lieutenant colonel.

Past mercenary-related activities include marginal involvement in plots to overthrow Castro and "Papa Doc" Duvalier, recruiting for the Sultan of Oman and the Rhodesian Army, and time spent as a reporter/mercenary in what was then called Rhodesia. As the head of Omega Group, Brown has sponsored numerous military training missions to Central America and delivered military equipment to counterrevolutionary forces in the region. He says he has organized a dozen teams to train the Salvadoran army and loaned nine staffers to teach the contras. "I get to do things that nobody else can," says Brown, "Vacation for me is attacking a fort in Afghanistan."

Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham (Ret.):

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 Graham was in charge of army intelligence in Saigon, and was recently accused along with General Westmoreland by a former CIA analyst of participating in a conspiracy to suppress higher troop estimates during the Vietnam War. He served as the director of the Defense Intelligence Agency from 1971 to 1976. In 1977, the South African government secretly paid the Institute of Policy Studies, a University of Miami-based research institute headed by Graham, to produce an "independent study" espousing the strategic importance of South Africa to the West. He has served as a military adviser to Reagan.

Graham is currently the director of High Frontier, an organization founded in 1981 and dedicated to the proposition that the United States can be made "safe from attack by Soviet nuclear missiles." He is the chair of the Coalition for the Strategic Defense Initiative. Besides his work promoting Star Wars defense, he is vice-chair of the United States Council for World Freedom, a former staff member of the American Security Council, a member of the Council for National Policy, and is closely associated with the Heritage Foundation.

Major General Edward G. Lansdale (Ret.):

Another old soldier, Lansdale is a prominent figure in promoting low intensity conflict doctrine in Central America. Along with Singlaub and Aderholt, Lansdale was a member of the Special Warfare Panel formed by the DOD's Fred Ikle. He is an adviser of the National Defense Council, a group that coordinates private support for counterrevolution in Central America. Lansdale worked simultaneously for the CIA and the Pentagon for over two decades and has long called for closer coordination of military and economic aid programs in counterinsurgency situations.

In the 1950s, Lansdale developed counterinsurgency plans for governments in Vietnam and the Philippines. He was the personal adviser of President Magsaysay of the Philippines and President Diem in South Vietnam. In both countries he developed military civic action programs with the aim of increasing the power and influence of the security forces.

He was a member of the committee in 1959 that wrote the Draper Report which recommended the increased use of civic action programs in the third world. In the early 1960s, Lansdale was involved in several plots to either murder Castro or undermine his public image. In one Pentagon memo, Lansdale referred to the need for the "liquidation of leaders." When not plotting against Castro, Lansdale was assistant to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara on matters involving the CIA and special operations.

In a recent interview with the Boston Globe, Lansdale called for a broad counterinsurgency program in El Salvador of "psychological operations and civic action in smaller units as a means of giving the El Salvador government a way of going after the [opposition] leaders." Such a program could include "sabotage, if it had a political or military purpose."

Colonel Alexander M. S. McColl:
 McColl, who had 11 years of active duty including two tours with the Special Forces in Vietnam, is a colonel with the Army Reserve and also the Military Affairs

~~The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Protocols of 1977 define humanitarian aid as food, medicine, and clothing. They state that such aid must be given impartially to all sides in a conflict to relieve human suffering, and it must be provided only to civilians or combatants who are sick, wounded, or shipwrecked. Under these international conventions, assistance to military forces cannot be designated "humanitarian."~~

~~The vast majority of assistance provided by the new private groups in Central America violates these guidelines. Aid to the contras and their families and support of military civic action programs is paramilitary in nature. Whether the assistance is food, army boots, or Christmas gift packages, it should be considered paramilitary because it either directly supports combatants or is discriminately provided to civilians on only one side of the conflict. Similarly, U.S. government "humanitarian assistance" to the contras must rightfully be designated as being paramilitary in nature. Commenting on the political and paramilitary use of aid, Joseph Mitchell, former director of the AID Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance, said, "Congressional advocates evidently believe that humanitarian aid to combatants engaged in a civil war is somehow different from aiding them militarily as if food, clothing and shelter are not rations, uniforms and tents."²⁵~~

A Tax-Exempt Counterrevolution

Private support of the contras and other counterrevolutionary forces in Central America is often tax exempt. Contributions to organizations like the United States Council for World Freedom (USCWF), the Nicaraguan Freedom Fund, and the Nicaraguan Development Council are regarded as charitable donations because they go to organizations that enjoy tax-exempt status with the Internal Revenue Service. New Right think tanks and lobbying groups—many of which serve as contra support groups—benefit from the same status.

Singlaub's USCWF received tax-exempt status in October 1982. The Los Angeles IRS office had referred USCWF's application to

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Tax Exempt Organizations

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New Right Humanitarian and Contra Support Groups

Air Commando Association	Institute for Regional and International Studies
American Foundation for Resistance International	International Aid
Americares	International Relief Friendship Foundation
Caribbean Commission	Knights of Malta
Christian Broadcasting Network	National Defense Council Foundation
Council for National Policy	Nicaragua Development Council
Tom Dooley Foundation InterMed USA	Nicaraguan Freedom Fund
Eagle Forum	Nicaraguan Refugee Fund
Family Foundation of America	Refugee Relief International
Friends of the Americas	U.S. Council for World Freedom
Human Development Foundation	World Medical Relief

Think Tanks and Public Pressure Groups

Accuracy in Academia	Council for the Defense of Freedom
American Enterprise Institute	Free Congress Foundation
American Security Council	Heritage Foundation
Committee on the Present Danger	Liberty Foundation
Concerned Citizens for Democracy	National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty
The Conservative Caucus	Western Goals

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IRS, Cumulative List of Organizations Described in Sec 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, (1986); Phone interviews.

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~~(Nelson Bunker and Herbert)~~ have contributed and offered their personal support at events like the Freedom Fighters' Banquet hosted by the World Anti-Communist League.

Another major business figure linked with counterrevolutionary efforts in Central America is Rich DeVos of Amway. A governor of the Council for National Policy and a board member of the National Endowment for Democracy, a quasi-private organization funded by the U.S. Information Agency, DeVos has apparently allowed Amway distributorships to be used to collect "Shoe Boxes for Liberty." In addition, Amway consumer products have been distributed in Guatemala and Honduras by humanitarian groups.³⁴ Amway, however, has denied that it financially supports the contras.

Wealthy individuals do more than send small relief packages to the contras. Ellen Garwood, heir to the Clayton Anderson fortune, has contributed large sums to groups like the United States Council for World Freedom and the National Defense Council, including the amount necessary to buy a helicopter. A FN representative had said that one wealthy U.S. businessman had donated money for anti-aircraft missiles and that another person had recently purchased a large cargo plane to ferry supplies to Central America.

Two major corporate figures stand out for their large financial support to the cause of anticommunism: Joseph Coors and J. P. Grace.

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Joseph Coors and Family

The Coors family, which has a history of funding extremists groups like the John Birch Society, is a major source of funds for both the think tanks and the pressure and propaganda groups of the New Right. The family's wealth stems from the Colorado-based Coors Company, the country's fifth largest brewery, which was founded by Adolph Coors, a poor German immigrant who died in a fall from a hotel window in 1929. His sons, Joseph and Bill, now run the company with the help of their sons.

Besides brewing beer, the Coors Company also manufactures alumina and oxide ceramics, owns a rice milling business, and has an oil exploration and development business. Its subsidiaries include Cadco, Coors Distributing, Coors Biotech Products, Coors Biomedical, Coors Energy, American Center for Occupational Health, Rocky Mountain Water, Coors Food Products, and RI Ceramics. Since 1978, labor unions, minority groups, and women's organizations have participated in a boycott against Coors beer because of the racist, sexist, and anti-labor policies of the Coors family.

In 1984, a statement by Bill Coors to a group of Black business owners added more fuel to a national boycott campaign against Coors beer. Coors said that "one of the best things they (slave traders)

did for you is to drag your ancestors over here in chains." Bill Coors also said that the main problem with Blacks was that they "lack the intellectual capacity to succeed."

Joseph Coors is a financial angel who stands behind the Heritage Foundation, Free Congress Foundation, Citizens for a Free America, and Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. Through those groups, Coors has helped establish the New Right's political agenda and philosophy. Coors is also a major funder of right-wing religious groups including the Church League of America, Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Moral Majority, and Campus Crusade for Christ. Holly Coors was a Philadelphia socialite before marrying Joseph in 1941. She is a member of the board of regents of CEN University, director of the Citizens for a Free America, and is active in New Right circles. She lists her role models as Nancy Reagan and Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Money from the Coors family also flows into such groups as the Nicaraguan Freedom Foundation, U.S. Council for World Freedom, Council for National Policy, and the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund. According to the leader of a civilian commando unit supporting the contras, "Coors Brewery is one of the contras' biggest supporters."

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Part Three

New Right Policymakers

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~~American Enterprise Institute Washington, DC~~

~~Principals: William Baroody, (president).~~

~~The American Enterprise Institute was founded in 1943 by Lewis H. Brown, chair of the Johns-Manville Company, to promote free enterprise ideas. A non-profit organization, AEI receives extensive financial support from drug-related foundations such as the Smith Richardson and Lilly Foundations.~~

~~Primarily concerned with developing an ideological defense of capitalism, the Institute serves as a meeting place for various blocs of the Reagan administration. While she was a resident scholar with AEI, Jeane Kirkpatrick wrote the essay on "Dictatorships and Double Standards" that brought her to the attention of Ronald Reagan. Her essay drew a distinction between "authoritarian" and "totalitarian" governments, and had been used as the rationale for Reagan administration alliances with right-wing dictatorships.~~

~~AEI has served as a recruitment pool for the administration and for the New Right humanitarians. AEI resident scholars who later joined the Reagan administration include: David Stockman (Office of Management and the Budget), James C. Miller (who replaced Stockman at OMB), William Brock (Secretary of Labor), Fred Ikle (Undersecretary of Defense for Public Policy), Vice President George Bush, Roger Fontaine (former member of the National Security Council), and Jeane Kirkpatrick (former UN Ambassador). Ikle, Fontaine, and Kirkpatrick have been key figures in the formula-~~

~~tion of the Reagan foreign policy in Central America. William Simon was an AEI associate during the late 1970s. He currently serves as the chair of the Nicaraguan Freedom Fund and is a member of Amicares and the Knights of Malta. Another AEI associate, Michael Novak, is on the board of directors of the Nicaraguan Freedom Fund. Neo-conservative ideologue and ardent anti-Sandinista Irving Kristol has also been associated with AEI.~~

~~American Security Council (ASC) Boston, VA~~

~~Principals: John Fisher (founder and president, chair of Coalition for Peace through Strength), Elbridge Dubrow, Steve Donchess (Secretary), Harold Falk (Treasurer), Robert Perry, Greg Hilton, Sam Dickens (Coordinator of Latin American affairs), Robert W. Galvin (Motorola), James Angleton (former CIA), General Singlaub, Ray Cline, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt (ret.), Dr. Scott Thompson (former USIA), Edwin Feulner, Jr. (Heritage Foundation).~~

~~The American Security Council is the political action arm of the American Security Council Foundation and serves as a voice of the military-industrial complex. It is engaged in lobbying, produces cold war propaganda, and sponsors a number of related institutes including the Freedom Studies Center ("the private West Point of psycho-political warfare"), the American Foreign Policy Institute, and the Coalition for Peace through Strength.~~

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~~A key figure in the founding of ASC (known originally as the Mid-West Library) in 1955 was General Robert E. Wood, the chair of~~

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Council for National Policy

(a selected listing of the Board of Governors)*

Dr. Frank Aker	Hon. Jack Fields	Marvin Liebman	William Schneider, Jr.
Lt. Commander U.S. Navy Quantico, VA	U.S. Congress Washington, DC	National Endowment for the Arts Washington, DC	Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance Washington, DC
Pat Boone	Frank Gannon	James A. (Jim) Mather	Dr. Cory SerVaas
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Mayor McAllen, TX	Vice President The Moral Majority Lynchburg, VA	U.S. Senate Washington, DC	President, RKO General Chairman, International Communications Agency New York, NY
Patrick Buchanan	Lt General Dan Graham	F. Andrew Messing	Maj. General John K. Singlaub
White House Communications Director McLean, VA	U.S. Army (Retired) Chairman, The High Frontier, Inc. Washington, DC	Executive Director The Conservative Caucus, Inc. Vienna, VA	U.S. Army (Retired) Tabernash, CO
Joseph Coors	J. Peter Grace	Hon. Don Nickles	Hon. Charles Stenholm
President Adolph Coors Company Golden, CO	Chairman W. R. Grace Co. New York, NY	U.S. Senate Washington, DC	U.S. Congress Coordinator, Conservative Democratic Forum Washington, DC
Holly Coors	Hon. Jesse Helms	Dr. Alton Ochsner, Jr.	Professor Lewis Tambs
Chairwoman Citizens for a New Beginning Golden, CO	U.S. Senate Washington, DC	Physician New Orleans, LA	National Security Council Washington, DC
Hon. Mike Curb	Nelson Bunker Hunt	Howard Phillips	Hon. Guy Vander Jagt
Lieutenant Governor Sacramento, CA	Chairman Hunt Energy Corp. Dallas, TX	National Chairman The Conservative Caucus Vienna, VA	U.S. Congress Chairman, Repub Congressional Com. Washington, DC
Richard DeVos	Reed Irvine	Dr. Pat Robertson	Richard A. Viguerie
President Amway Corporation Co-Chairman, Mutual Broadcasting System Ada, MI	President Accuracy in Media Washington, DC	President, Christian Broadcasting Network Chancellor, CBN University Virginia, VA	President The Viguerie Company Publisher Conservative Digest Falls Church, VA
John (Terry) Dolan	Dr. Mildred Jefferson	James Robinson	Paul Weyrich
Chairman, National Conservative PAC Arlington, VA	Former President National Right to Life Committee Boston, MA	Evangelistic Crusade Fort Worth, TX	President Free Congress Foundation Washington, DC
Hon. John D. East	Hon. Woody Jenkins	William A. Rusher	James R. Whelan
U.S. Senate Washington, DC	LA House of Representatives Baton Rouge, LA	Publisher National Review New York, NY	Publisher The Washington Times Washington, DC
Dr. Jerry Falwell	Hon. Jack F. Kemp	William E. Saracino	All INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT AS NOTED OTHERWISE
President The Moral Majority President, Liberty Baptist College Lynchburg, VA	U.S. Congress Republican Conference Washington, DC	Executive Director Gun Owners of America Sacramento, CA	
Dr. Edwin J. Feulner	Reed Larson	Phyllis Schlafly	
President Heritage Foundation Washington, DC	President, National Right to Work Committee Springfield, VA	Syndicated Columnist President The Eagle Forum Alton, IL	

zations, and right-wing religious leaders. CNP does not take public stands on policy issues but uses its vast influence network to effect policy changes. A key power base for the New Right, CNP draws its members from the Sunbelt states with 20 percent hailing from Texas. CNP serves as a fund-raising network for the FIN and General Singlaub. The Council invited Adolfo Calero of the FIN to speak to the group in January 1984, giving the contras valuable contacts among the New Right.

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~~Free Congress Foundation~~

~~Washington, DC~~

Principals: Paul Weyrich (president), Charles Moser (secretary-treasurer), Kathleen Teague (chair), Senator William Armstrong (director).

In 1974, New Right activists Paul Weyrich and Joseph Coors created the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) as a conservative political action committee. CSFC recently underwent a name change and is now the Free Congress Foundation. Like its predecessor, the Free Congress Foundation is dedicated to the election of conservative leaders to the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate. The Free Congress Foundation provides financial assistance to candidates, offers tactical advice and services to candidates during the campaigns, and works with members of Congress on key legislative proposals. In its days as the CSFC, the group provided campaign funding to right-wing senators Jesse Helms and Orrin Hatch. It also trained over 7000 workers for Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, and various right-to-life and anti-union campaigns.

The Free Congress Foundation promotes the concept of anti-Soviet liberation movements and freedom fighters. In September 1982, Charles Moser formulated a plan to form a network of six national support committees for these movements in Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Kampuchea, and Vietnam. Members of the Nicaraguan committee included Dan Fefferman of the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Reed Irvine of the Council for the Defense of Freedom and

Accuracy in Media, and L. Francis Bouchey of the Council for Inter-American Security. Members of the El Salvador committee included: Sam Dickens of New World Dynamic, Andy Messing of the National Defense Council, Reed Irvine, and Richard Araujo of the Heritage Foundation. Moser is the author of book published by the Free Congress Foundation entitled Combat on Communist Territory, which examines anticomunist insurgencies around the world and makes policy recommendations on U.S. support for those forces.

~~Freedom Research Foundation (FRF)~~

Principals: Jack Wheeler, Mike Kelly (Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower for Air Force), Alex Alexiev (National Security Division of Rand Corporation).

FRF provides public relations and networking services for third-world anticomunist groups like the contras. For six months in 1983, Wheeler, self-described adventurer-philosopher, traveled with "anti-soviet liberation movements" in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Angola as a guest from the right-wing Reason Foundation of Santa Barbara, California. Wheeler, who founded Freedom Research Foundation with the help of The Conservative Caucus, described his travel in front-page accounts in the Washington Times, owned by CAUSA.

~~Heritage Foundation~~

~~Washington, DC~~

Principals: Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. (president), William F. Simon (trustee), Joseph Coors (trustee), Lewis Lehrman (trustee), W. Bruce Weinrod, (Director of Foreign Policy and Defense Studies), J. Robert Fluor (trustee), Jack Wilson (trustee and Coor's personal aide), Frank Shakespeare, Richard Mellon Scaife.

This "aggressively conservative" think tank is another offspring of right-wing duo Joseph Coors and Paul Weyrich. Richard Mellon Scaife has been its principal funder. Funds for this New Right think tank also come from Dart Industries, Getty Oil, Bechtel, and the Readers Digest Association. Founded in 1973, the Heritage Foundation is a public policy research insti-

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tute dedicated to free enterprise, anticomunism, limited government, and a strong national defense. It publishes research studies and policy analysis for the use of government decision-makers and the public. Roger Pearson, former president of the World Anti-Communist League with a neo-Nazi past, was a founding member of the foundation's journal Policy Review.

By some reports, the Foundation has become the most influential of Washington policy analysis organizations, pushing ahead of the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute. But its success comes not from the quality of its research and writing but from the marketing and public relations skills of the Heritage Foundation staff. According to its president, Edwin Feulner, the Heritage Foundation "has the intellectual resources necessary to change the course of history." Feulner may be right. "Mandate for Leadership," a 1980 report published in time for Ronald Reagan's election, made policy recommendations for the new president. According to a Heritage spokesperson, the Reagan administration incorporated 65 percent of the document's proposals. Those recommendations included unleashing the CIA, using food as a weapon in the struggle against communism, and overthrowing the Sandinistas.

A Heritage Foundation Backgrounder written by former CIA officer Cleto Di Giovanni has been called "a virtual blueprint for U.S. policy" in Nicaragua. Written in 1980, the report suggested that the United States carry out a "well orchestrated program targeted against the Marxist Sandinista government." Di Giovanni recommended U.S. support of private sector groups in Nicaragua, including non-governmental labor unions, the Church, "independent" political parties, the "free press," and business. Accusing the Sandinista government of destabilizing activities in the region, Di Giovanni asserted that "the security of El Salvador requires the acceleration of the removal of the government in Managua."

A 1985 Backgrounder by associate Virginia Polk claimed that Guatemalan leaders had "initiated significant political reforms to propel their nation toward democracy."

Polk contended that the country no longer had systematic labor repression and recommended U.S. support for the "civic action programs" in the highlands. She referred to the Guatemalan military's "model villages" as a "strategy for protecting the Indian population in the war against Marxist guerrillas." Like Di Giovanni, Polk proposed that private sector groups be given increased U.S. assistance and suggested channeling anticommunist aid through the Inter-American Foundation. DC

In its set of policy recommendations for Reagan's second term, the Heritage Foundation called for the underwriting of paramilitary forces in nine countries that "threaten United States interests."

~~Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD)~~

~~Washington, DC~~

Principals: Edmund W. Robb, (executive officer).

Established in 1981, the IRD has 2000 members and is dedicated to "restoring democratic values" to churches. Its founders included Penn Kerle, an initiator of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, and Michael Novak, an associate of the American Enterprise Institute and a director of the Nicaraguan Freedom Fund. IRD tries to identify the connections between religion and the promotion of "democratic institutions" worldwide, and opposes churches which support "leftist" groups. Described by the Washington Post as an "upstart conservative faction bent on smearing its opponents," the Institute gets most of its funding from two right-wing foundations, the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts and the Smith Richardson Foundation. IRD bestows an annual Religious Freedom Award and produces a bimonthly report, "Religion and Democracy." It has also published two reports on Central America: "Catholic Church in El Salvador," and "Nicaragua: A Revolution Against the Church?"

In 1983, the Institute led an attack against the progressive National Council of Churches, for the council's approach to aid and activities in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Vietnam. In an article in Readers Digest

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~~SECRET~~The Conservative Caucus

Correspondence from Margie Wilkins, Director of Administrative Services, The Conservative Caucus, February 12, 1986; Alan Crawford, Thunder on the Right (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); Covert Action Information Bulletin, Fall 1984; Washington Post, September 10, 1983; Encyclopedia of Associations, 1986; National Catholic Reporter, August 3, 1984; New York Times, July 15, 1984; TCC, "Ten Years of Progress."

Council for the Defense of Freedom

Encyclopedia of Associations, 1986; Phone interview by Deb Preusch with Don Irvine, February 13, 1986; Washington Inquirer, February 14, 1986; "The Washington Inquirer," Pamphlet by The Council for the Defense of Freedom, Washington, DC; "Accuracy in Academia," Pamphlet by the Council for the Defense of Freedom, Washington, DC; "Accuracy in Media," Pamphlet by the Council for the Defense of Freedom, Washington, DC; Accuracy in Media, AIM Report, February-A, 1986.

Council for Inter-American Security (CIS)

Covert Action Information Bulletin, Fall 1984; The Committee of Santa Fe, A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties (Washington, DC: Council for Inter-American Security, Inc., 1980); Encyclopedia of Associations, 1986; Mother Jones, August/September 1985; Robert Emmet Moffit, "Soviet-American Relations in the 1980s--Taking 'Peaceful Coexistence' Seriously," in Robert W. Whitaker (ed.), The New Right Papers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); Matthew Rothschild, "A Gala Occasion for the Contras," The Progressive, May 1985.

Council for National Policy

The Texas Observer, March 7, 1986; CNP letterhead and Officers List; Miami Herald, January 21, 1985; The Guardian, February 19, 1986; Cindy Buhl "Covert War: Private Aid to the Contras", no date.

Free Congress Foundation

Washington Post, December 5, 1984; Encyclopedia of Associations, 1986; Free Congress Foundation Brochures; Labor Report on Central America, September/October, 1985.

Freedom Research Foundation

Covert Action Information Bulletin, Fall 1984.

Heritage Foundation

Cleto Di Giovanni, Jr., "U.S. Policy and the Marxist Threat to Central America," in Peter Rosset and John Vandermeer, eds., The Nicaragua Reader: Documents of a Revolution Under Fire (New York: Grove Press, 1983) pp.190-191; Alan Crawford, Thunder on the Right (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); Los Angeles Times, December 21, 1980; News Notes, Maryknoll Justice & Peace Office Newsletter, November 1985; New York Times, November 17, 1985; Mother Jones, September 1985; NACLA Report on the Americas, January/February 1982; Virginia Polk, "Guatemala Deserves U.S. Support," Heritage Foundation Backgrounder, May 22, 1985; Labor Report on Central America, September/October 1985; Washington Post, February 14, 1985.

Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD)

Washington Post, March 19, 1983; Counterspy, June-August, 1983; Washington Post, February 27, 1983; "Nicaragua's State Security: Behind the Propaganda Mask," Interview with Alvaro Jose Baldizon Aviles, Briefing Paper by The Institute on Religion and Democracy, September 1985; Christian Century, January 22, 1986; Encyclopedia of Associations, 1986; NACLA Report on the Americas, July/August 1981.

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Liberty Federation

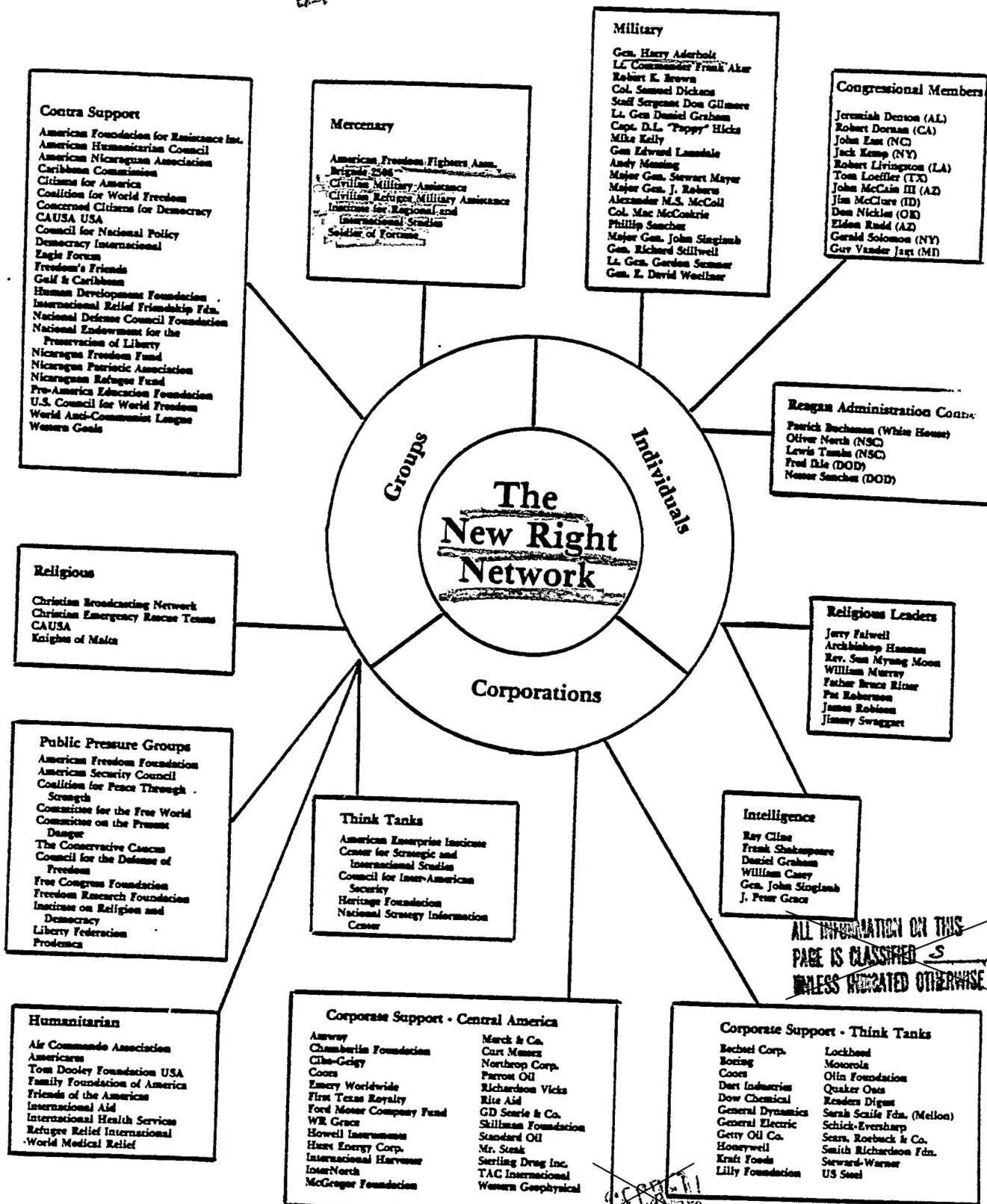
Washington Post, December 5, 1984; NACLA Report on the Americas, July/August 1981; National Strategy Information Center, Encyclopedia of Associations, 1986; Frank Barnett, B. Hugh Tovar, and Richard H. Shultz, eds., Special Operations in US Strategy (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1984).

Western Goals Foundation

The National Reporter, Summer 1985; Encyclopedia of Associations, 1986; Washington Post, December 5, 1984; Common Cause Magazine, September/October, 1985.

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donor to the contras. CEN has worked with the following groups to provide aid to Central America: Air Commandos Association, World Medical Relief, International Aid, Americares, National Defense Council, Dooley Foundation, Friends of the Americas, and Knights of Malta. Operation Blessing also has given \$3 million to the Nicaraguan Patriotic Association (NPA), a EDN contra organization.

The Air Commandos say that Captain Robert Warren (ret.), who is in charge of Operation Blessing, approached them in August 1984 to begin joint medical efforts in the Guatemalan Highlands. In 1985, ACA reported the beginning of a new project ("in cooperation with the government of Guatemala") with CEN, National Defense Council, and World Medical Relief to send medical personnel to treat Indians. In El Salvador, CEN has worked with the U.S. MilGroup, Knights of Malta, World Medical Relief, and Refugee Relief International as part of the military civic action program.

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The 700 Club, which collects \$15 a month from each of its members, promotes the humanitarian work of the Friends of the Americas (FOA). FOA's Diane Jenkins has appeared on CEN to solicit funds. Other guests of The 700 Club talk program include Steadman Fagoth of MISURA, Adolfo Calero of EDN, and former Guatemalan president Rios Montt.

CEN has counted on the U.S. military to get some of its humanitarian assistance to Central America. Some transportation is supplied by Operation Handclasp, a U.S. Navy program that ships donated goods to ports of call around the world. Transportation has also been provided by the Air Force. CEN supplies have been stored with DOD approval at Fort Meade in Maryland and the Selfridge Air Base in Michigan prior to shipment to Central America. Robertson has traveled to Honduras and given religious services in several camps of contras, and he says that CEN supplies "chaplaincy services and Bibles to the contras."

~~Citizens for America (CFA)~~

Principals: Lewis Lehrman (owner of Rite Aid drug store, Heritage Foundation trustee, friend of Reagan), Joseph and Holly Coors, Nelson Bunker Hunt, T. Boone Pickens, Holmes Tuttle, Earle Jorgensen (friends of Reagan and members of his "kitchen cabinet").

Citizens for America was established in 1983 with \$1 million in "seed money" from wealthy supporters including Joseph Coors and the "blessing of Reagan and his closest aides." CFA devoted major efforts to winning congressional support for the contras--they brought 20 contras to the U.S. to campaign in 200 congressional districts for resumption of contra aid. CFA was responsible for the June 2, 1985 meeting between A. Calero (EDN), J. Sayimbi (UNITA), and leaders of CIA-backed forces in Afghanistan and Laos, which resulted in the founding of Democracy International.



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~~Civilian Military Assistance (CMA)~~
~~Memphis, TN~~

Principals: Tom Posey (president). *TA*

According to Tom Posey, a former Marine corporal, CMA began in July 1983 when he and several other veterans decided to help the anticommunist forces in Central America. He says that General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, then commander of the Honduran military, invited his group to Honduras and that the U.S. embassy arranged the first contacts between CMA and the Honduran Army. Since then, CMA has taken over many of the functions previously performed for the contras by the CIA, including providing trainers, advisers, and maintaining a logistic pipeline.

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~~SECRET~~~~International Aid (IA)~~
~~Spring Lake, MI~~~~Principals: Dr. James E. Franks Sr., and
James E. Franks Jr.~~

International Aid describes itself as an "independent, non-profit, inter-denominational relief and mission service organization." It has worked with World Medical Relief, Air Commandos, and Christian Broadcasting Network to get supplies to Guatemala and Honduras since 1984.

~~International Relief Friendship Foundation (IRFF)~~

IRFF started in 1976 with a \$225,000 grant from the Unification Church, and about 90 percent of its annual budget (under \$200,000) still comes from the Church. IRFF's aid is distributed to "recently arrived refugees" along the Nicaragua border. In 1984, IRFF sent 1000 pounds of clothing, and nearly 7 tons of food and medical supplies to Miskito refugees in Honduras.

~~ALL INFORMATION ON THIS
PAGE IS CLASSIFIED
UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE~~~~Knights of Malta-(SMOM)~~
~~East Canton, OH~~

Principals: J. Peter Grace (chair of U.S. chapter), William Simon, Prescott Bush Jr., William Casey (CIA director) Alexander Haig (former Secretary of State), Senator Jeremiah Denton, Senator Pete Domenici, Lee Iacocca (Chrysler), Barron Hilton (Hilton Hotels), Lt. Gen. Rinehart Cehan (a Nazi Intelligence and Covert Operations officer who was recruited by the CIA), William F. Buckley, William P. Clark (former National Security Adviser), and Frank Shakespeare (former director of the U.S. Information Agency and a director of the Heritage Foundation).

This elite Catholic organization models itself after an order of soldier-monks that fought in the Crusades. Its formal name is the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St. John, of Jerusalem, of Rhodes, and of Malta. SMOM, which has 10,000 members in 42 countries, is organized diplomatically as being part of the State of the Vatican. Its unusual status of a sovereign nation without its own territory allows the organization to send items across borders via "diplomatic pouch," meaning that they are not subject to review by local customs authorities. *No C/C*

Social historian Stephen Birmingham said, "The Knights of Malta comprise what is perhaps the most exclusive club on earth. They are more than just Catholic aristocracy. They can pick up a telephone and chat with the Pope." The U.S. chapter has 1,750 members and has been called "the cutting edge of right-wing Catholicism, a hidden mating ground where the Catholic church and the U.S. ruling elite intersect." During the Vietnam war, SMOM showed strong support for U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia and contributed to the U.S. government's pacification campaign in South Vietnam. At least eight knights are directors of WR Grace, and J. Peter Grace directs the U.S. branch of SMOM. *1/1*

In the last few years, U.S. knights have shown increasing interest in Central America and currently distribute humanitarian assistance through military civic action programs in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador as well as to the Nicaraguan contras.

SMOM's work in Central America pushed forward in 1983 after J. Peter Grace worked out an agreement between Americares and SMOM to ship and distribute medical supplies to the region. In 1983-84, \$14 million of Americares' donations were channeled through the Knights: \$10 million to El Salvador, \$680,000 to Miskito Indians in Honduras, and \$3.4 million to Guatemala. *2/1*

Local knights in Central America generally handle the distribution of the supplies and arrange contacts with the local armed forces. Like their counterparts in the

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